

Message Text

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SUBJECT:EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN PROGRAM - PRESS COVERAGE
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PAGE 02 STATE 088225

1. FOLLOWING IS AN EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON STAR,
APRIL 5.

QUOTE: ENDING THE TURKISH ARMS BAN. THE CARTER ADMINISTRA-
TION'S DECISION TO SEEK AN END OF THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST
TURKEY, WITHOUT PRIOR TURKISH CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS, IS IN

KEEPING WITH THE U.S. INTEREST IN PRESERVING THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. THE MOVE IS ALSO BETTER CALCULATED THAN THE EMBARGO TO PERMIT PROGRESS ON A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. CONGRESS SHOULD BE ABLE TO SEE THESE TRUTHS THROUGH THE EXPECTED SMOKESCREEN OF ETHNIC POLITICKING ON THE ISSUE.

THE THREE-YEAR-OLD EMBARGO WAS ILL-ADVISED FROM THE START. THE PURPOSE WAS TO PUNISH TURKEY FOR VIOLATING THE TERMS OF U.S. ARMS SALES AND AID BY ITS USE OF AMERICAN WEAPONS IN THE 1974 INVASION OF NORTHERN CYPRUS.

WHAT CONGRESS ACTUALLY DID WAS TILT TO THE GREEK AND GREEK-CYPRIOT SIDE IN THE CONFLICT BECAUSE THAT WAS WHAT THE HEAVIER ETHNIC LOBBYING CALLED FOR. GREECE AND ITS AMERICAN SPOKESMEN WANT TO CONTINUE THE EMBARGO AS A BARGAINING ADVANTAGE OVER TURKEY, ON CYPRUS AND OTHER GREEK-TURKISH ISSUES.

THE UNITED STATES' OVERRIDING INTEREST, HOWEVER, IS IN ENDING THE EMBARGO NOW. THIS WOULD STOP THE ALIENATION OF A STRONG AND DEMONSTRABLY FAITHFUL NATO ALLY. NATO UNITY IS NOT SERVED BY TREATING TURKEY AS AN OUTCAST. TURKEY'S WHOLEHEARTED PARTICIPATION, AND A RESTORED U.S. PRESENCE AT BASES IN TURKEY, ARE IMPORTANT TO ANCHOR THE ALLIANCE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. TURKEY IS DEPENDENT ON U.S. ARMS FOR RESUPPLYING AND MODERNIZING ITS FORCES (AS IS GREECE, ANOTHER NATO MEMBER, WHICH SUSPENDED ITS MILITARY UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 088225

PARTICIPATION IN THE ALLIANCE BECAUSE NATO DID NOT PREVENT THE TURKS' PARTIAL OCCUPATION OF CYPRUS). THE END OF THE EMBARGO WOULD OPEN THE WAY TO A REFURBISHED AGREEMENT WITH TURKEY ON ARMS AND U.S. USE OF TURKISH BASES.

THE EMBARGO, BESIDES, HAS PROVED TO BE NO PROMOTER OF TURKISH CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS. THE REASON IS TURKISH PRIDE -- AND A POWERFUL PRIDE IT IS. RESENTMENT OF THE LINKAGE OF U.S. ARMS SUPPLIES AND TURKISH POLICY ON CYPRUS RUNS DEEP. ANKARA'S ELECTED GOVERNMENT, UNDER WHATEVER PARTY SPONSORSHIP, CANNOT AFFORD TO BE SEEN KNUCKLING UNDER TO PRESSURE AT THE POSSIBLE EXPENSE OF THE TURKISH MINORITY ON CYPRUS. AT THE SAME TIME THE NEW TURKISH GOVERNMENT UNDER PREMIER BULENT ECEVIT HAS PROMISED A FRESH SET OF CYPRUS PEACE PROPOSALS.

DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUE ON CAPITOL HILL IS LIKELY TO BECOME ENTANGLED WITH UNDERSTANDABLE GREEK-AMERICAN EMOTIONS (NUMERICALLY MORE CONVINCING THAN THE TURKISH-AMERICAN VARIETY). BUT THESE CONSIDERATIONS OF ETHNIC LOYALTY ARE BASED TO AN IMPORTANT EXTENT ON OLD GRIEVANCES BETWEEN THE AEGEAN NEIGHBORS, THE REHASHING OF WHICH SERVES NO PURPOSE.

IT IS NECESSARY TO SEE PAST THE ATROCITY STORIES WITH WHICH EACH SIDE IS DEPRESSINGLY WELL SUPPLIED.

IS IT IN GREEK, TURKISH OR AMERICAN INTERESTS TO LET NATO'S SOUTHERN WING DISINTEGRATE? IS IT BETTER, FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT, TO KEEP TRYING TO PRESSURE THE STUBBORN TURKS, OR TO SEE WHAT CAN BE GAINED FROM MR. ECEVIT'S SENSE OF FAIRNESS AND HIS DESIRE FOR BETTER RELATIONS WITH GREECE? WILL IT HELP GREEK-TURKISH FRIENDSHIP TO PUSH THE TURKS OUT OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE? WHAT WOULD THE RUSSIANS LIKE TO SEE HAPPEN IN THIS STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT REGION?

PRESIDENT CARTER SHOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE A CASE FOR THE WEST'S NEED TO PROMOTE TURKISH-GREEK AMITY. AN ARMS EMBARGO
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 088225

BARGO AGAINST OUR TURKISH ALLIES IS NO WAY TO GO ABOUT IT.
END QUOTE.

2. FOLLOWING IS AN ARTICLE THAT APPEARED IN THE BALTIMORE SUN, APRIL 5.

QUOTE: TURKEY AND CONGRESS. OPPONENTS OF ARMS FOR TURKEY ARE PREPARING TO DO BATTLE WITH PRESIDENT CARTER'S REQUEST TO LIFT THE EMBARGO THAT CONGRESS IMPOSED IN 1975. MERELY REITERATING THE ORIGINAL JUSTIFICATION OF THAT EMBARGO WILL NOT DO. TURKEY'S MISUSE OF AMERICAN ARMS IN ITS 1974 INVASION OF CYPRUS WAS IMPRESSIVE JUSTIFICATION IN 1975. WHEN CONGRESS LEGISLATES THE SPECIFICS OF AID AND SALES, HOWEVER, IT IS NOT JUST TAKING STANDS BUT MAKING FOREIGN POLICY WHICH IS ONGOING. POLICY NEEDS PERPETUAL REVIEW. WHEN IT FAILS TO WORK AS INTENDED, IT NEEDS REVISION. THAT IS WHY FOREIGN POLICY WORKS BEST AS AN EXECUTIVE FUNCTION.

THE ARMS EMBARGO WAS MEANT TO INSPIRE TURKEY TO GIVE BACK MORE OF CYPRUS TO GREEK CYPRIOTS AND TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A FAIR REGIME FOR CYPRUS. DEMONSTRABLY IT HAS NOT HAD THAT EFFECT. RATHER, IN THE CONTEXT OF STALEMATED TURKISH POLITICS, IT HAS STIFFENED TURKS OF ALL PARTIES AGAINST MAKING CONCESSIONS THEY KNOW TO BE RIGHT. INSTEAD OF EXPEDITING THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO GREEK CYPRIOTS, THE EMBARGO IS HELPING TO DELAY IT.

THE EMBARGO WORKS AGAINST AMERICAN INTERESTS IN A STRONG WESTERN ALLIANCE. PRIME MINISTER BULENT ECEVIT IS THREATENING TO MAKE PERMANENT THE EVICTION OF AMERICANS FROM INTELLIGENCE BASES IN TURKEY WHICH MONITOR SOVIET MISSILES. HE MAY BOYCOTT THE MAY NATO SUMMIT. TURKEY LINKS THE ARMS EMBARGO TO THE MAY NATO SUMMIT.
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PAGE 05 STATE 088225

ISSUE TO ITS LIABILITY IN HARBORING ANTI-SOVIET BASES, NOT TO GOOD BEHAVIOR ON CYPRUS. MR. ECEVIT IS HOLDING THE ADMINISTRATION RESPONSIBLE FOR PASSIVELY ACCEPTING CONGRESSIONAL CONTINUANCE OF THE EMBARGO. THAT EXPLAINS WHY PRESIDENT CARTER HAS PICKED A FOREIGN POLICY FIGHT WITH CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRATS THAT HE DOES NOT NEED AND MAY WELL LOSE.

THE BEST ARGUMENT FOR THE EMBARGO AS POLICY IS ITS POSITIVE EFFECT ON RELATIONS WITH GREECE AND (GREEK) CYPRUS. THE UNITED STATES NEEDS GREEK AS WELL AS TURKISH ENTHUSIASM FOR NATO. PRESIDENT CARTER'S ATTEMPT TO CONCILIATE TURKEY BEFORE TURKEY CONCILIATES GREECE AND CYPRUS MAKES LIFE HARDER FOR THE CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT IN ATHENS AND EASIER FOR HIS ANTI-AMERICAN OPPOSITION.

MR. CARTER'S NEW POLICY IS NO LONGER TO PLUMP FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THE 1976 ARMS AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE FORD ADMINIS-

TRATION AND TURKEY. RATHER HE WANTS THE EMBARGO DROPPED ON PRINCIPLE FIRST, AND A NEW AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED. IN OTHER WORDS, WHILE THE PROGRESS ON CYPRUS WAS BEING OSTENSIBLY UNLINKED FROM ARMS, CONGRESS COULD SEE WHETHER PROGRESS WAS SUBSEQUENTLY MADE BEFORE ACTING ON NEW ARMS SALES. THE FIRST ACT OF CONCILIATION WOULD BE TAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES. EVEN TURKS WOULD SEE THAT THE NEXT STEP WAS UP TO TURKEY.

THE POLICY ADOPTED SHOULD BALANCE ALL AMERICAN INTERESTS, RATHER THAN JUST ONE OF THEM. THE ADMINISTRATION IS BEING TESTED. SO IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS IN THEIR RELATIVELY NEW ROLE OF ACTIVELY SHAPING FOREIGN POLICY. END QUOTE. VANCE

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